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OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao, of the All-India Institute of Mental Health and a former Editor of this Journal shows in 'Specimens of Pāṇini's Poetry' that Pāṇini was also a great poet.

Shri Indu Bhushan Ghatak, Rector, Kaland Vidyalaya in the Purnea District of Bihar, develops his theme of the 'Social Science for India', from a somewhat anthropological angle.

Shri Severine Silva continues his translation of the 'Yearly Records of the Mission of Caruar' and presents the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters in this issue, recording the events from 1805 to 1808.

Shri C. R. Subramanian, Assistant Engineer, Department of Archaeology, South-Western Circle, replies to Shri K. D. Swaminathan's comments on *Tamil Art and Culture in Pudukkottai* appearing on pages 63 and 64 of Volume L of this Journal.

OURSELVES

New Members

We welcome the following new members:

Shri Tenneti Viswanatham (Life Member)

Shri C. V. Vishveshwara

Shrimati R. H. Leela (Members)

General

We are happy that Professor A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Director, Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, an Honorary Member of the Mythic Society, has been nominated to the Lok Sabha by the President of India.

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SPECIMENS OF PĀṆINI'S POETRY

Professor S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO

The name of Pāṇini is immortal in the history of Indian thought. The systematisation of Sanskrit as a literary language is due almost entirely to his genius. The grammatical structure he built for Sanskrit is celebrated as the most perfect one in the world. Its artistic excellence vies with its scientific rigour. The great Patañjali paid him the finest tribute since then showered on him, when he wrote in his *Great Commentary*: "Magnificently well-done is Pāṇini's work!"[1] Pāṇini's was indeed a gigantic mind,[2] and his celebrity has survived in our country for over two thousand years. It is a tribute to his eminence that for ages he has been recognised as a sage by his countrymen.

It is conjectured that 'Pāṇini' was the *gotra*-name of the eminent thinker who lived in the seventh century before Christ (according to Goldstücker and Belvalkar) and whose real name is no longer known. Patajñali refers to him as "Dākṣi's son" (*Dākṣīputra*); Bhāmaha and Vardhamāna have styled him as "the native of Śālātura" (*Śālāturīya*); he is in *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* called Āhika, or Śālaṅkī. Śalātura, the town which had the honour of claiming Pāṇini's nativity, was identified by Cunningham with the present day village, Lahāur, in the Yusūfzai Valley near

1. *Mahābhāṣya*, (Kielhorn's ed.) Vol. II, p. 285.
2. *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 335 (*analpamati*)

Attock in the North West Frontier Province (now in Pakistan). The Chinese *Siyuki* (in S. Beal's rendering) contains an account of the then current Pāṇinian tradition in Śalātura. Concerning his early life, the legendary *Kathāsaritsāgara* informs us that he studied under Varṣa with Vyāḍi, Kātyāyana and Indradatta as fellow-students. According to this account, Pāṇini as a student was dull but acquired great proficiency by the grace of Śiva, who revealed to him the 'new grammar.' Tārānātha, the Buddhist historian, mentions that Pāṇini was friend to a Nanda king. A reference in *Pañcatantra* suggests that the great grammarian was killed by a lion.

Pāṇini's celebrity abides as a grammarian. His *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the terse formulation of linguistic principles in about 4,000 grammatical rules,[3] drove into complete oblivion the systems of grammar extant till then[4] and for over two thousand years now Pāṇini alone has held the ground. The inductive method he employed, the exactitude of his treatment, the comprehensiveness of the scope and the rigorous economy in his expressions, have combined to render his brilliant work immortal. Although *Aṣṭādhyāyi* is the only work of his that survived in its entirety, tradition has preserved his repute as a poet of eminence.

The suggestion that the great grammarian was also a poet occurs in a *Kārikā* contained in Patañjali's *Mahabhāṣya*[5]: the expression *kavi* has been employed in a context referring to Pāṇini (according to both Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśabhaṭṭa). There is an explicit mention of this in a verse ascribed to Rājaśekhara and cited in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*.[6] Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* gives

3. According to *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā*, 3981 rules besides the fourteen *pratyāhāra-Sūtras*.

4. Pāṇini himself mentions nine earlier grammarians: Śākalya, Āpiśala, Śakaṭāyana, Sphoṭāyana, Cākravarmaṇa, Gālava, Gārgya, Khāritodaya and Ācarya.

5. Vol. I. p. 334

6. स्वस्ति पाणिनये तस्मै येन रुद्रप्रसादतः ।
आदौ व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं ततो जाम्बुवतीजयम् ॥

Pāṇini an honourable place in the list of eminent poets.[7] Kṣemendra in his *Suvṛttatilaka* refers to Pāṇini's fondness for the *upajāti* meter.[8] In the old anthologies of best poems in Sanskrit we frequently come across verses ascribed to Pāṇini. Rājaśekhara tells us, in the verse referred to above, that Pāṇini was the author of a work known as *Jāṁbavatīvijaya*; this is confirmed by Śaraṇadeva who in his *Durghaṭavṛtti*[9] actually cites from this work three verses, one from the eighteenth canto, suggesting thereby that this was a fairly elaborate poetic composition, Namisādhu, the commentator on *Kāvyālaṁkāra* mentions a *Pātālavijaya* as Pāṇini's "great poem."[10] Perhaps the same work bore both the titles; but it is completely lost and the probability of its recovery is very remote. It may, however, be guessed that the poem treated the theme of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva's descent to the netherworlds and his marriage with the daughter of Jāṁbavān—a theme which we come across in the ancient *Mahāummegajātaka* of the Pāli collection as well as in the Sabhāparvan of the *Mahābhārata,* in the tenth section of *Bhāgavata*, and in the fourth chapter of *Viṣṇupurāṇa.* Save for a few stray verses cited from this poem, we know nothing about Pāṇini's plot, denouément or treatment.

While the loss of this work is most regrettable, especially in view of its antiquity and considering its author's eminence, it is fortunate that pieces, as specimens of Pāṇini's poetry, have been preserved in some anthologies of Sanskrit poems: *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, (referred below as *Kvs*), an eleventh century anthology discovered by Hara Prasad Sastri and published by F.W. Thomas;[11]

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7. सुबन्धौ भक्तिर्नः क इह रघुकारे न रमते,
धृतिर्दाक्षीपुत्रे हरति हरिचन्द्रोऽपि हृदयं ।
विशुद्धोक्तिः सूरः प्रकृतिमधुरा भारविगिरः
तथाप्यन्तर्मोदं कमपि भवभूतिर्वितनुते ॥

8. स्पृहणीयत्वचरितं पाणिनेरुपजातिभिः ।
चमत्कारैकसाराभिरुद्यानस्येव जातिभिः ॥

9. Upādhyāya, Krishnadeva: *New Verses of Pāṇini, I.H.Q.* 1957, Vol. XIII, pp. 167–171.

10. *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, (*NS.* ed.) p. 12.

11. *Bibliotheca Indica*, NS. 1309, Calcutta, 1912.

Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa (*Srk*), also an eleventh century anthology ascribed to Vidyākara[12]; *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (*Sk*) of Śrīdharadāsa, compiled in A.D. 1205; Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī* (*Sm*) compiled in A.D. 1257; *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* (*Sp*) compiled in A.D. 1363; *Subhāṣitāvali* (*Su*) of Vallabhadeva, assigned to the fifteenth century; and *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* (*Psr*) of Nandana, an unpublished anthology assigned to the end of fifteenth century.[13] Śaraṇadeva's *Durghaṭavṛtti*, a twelfth century commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, has preserved three verses from *Jāmbavatīvijaya*. Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka in his gloss on Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* has cited a few verses from Pāṇini. Rāyamukuṭa, a commentator on *Amarakoṣa*, and Puruṣottama, the author of *Bhāṣāvṛtti*[14] quote fragments of his verses. So does Vardhamāna in his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi*.[15] Namisādhu, in his explanation of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra*, has preserved one full verse and a fragment[16] of another from *Pātālavijaya*.

I have attempted in this paper to collect together all the poetic pieces ascribed to Pāṇini thus scattered in anthologies and grammatical treatises. The first consideration that prompted me to this venture was the remarkable freshness of imagery in some of these pieces, and a delicate excellence that runs through all of them. The second consideration was the exhilarating discovery that the celebrated grammarian was also a graceful poet. I am grateful to the arguments of Aufrecht, Pischel and Peterson, (in favour of whose judgment concerning the identity of the grammarian and the poet I incline), for I derived my interest in Pāṇini's poetry from them.

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12. Ed. D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale, Harvard University.

13. Noticed in D. D. Kosambi and V. V. Gokhale: *Ibid.* Introduction.

14. करीन्द्रदर्पच्छिदुरं मृगेन्द्रं . . . . .

15. बार्हद्रथं येन वितृत्तचक्षुर्विहस्य सावज्ञमिदं बभाषे।

16. ‘संध्यावधूं गृह्य करेण . . . . . .’

II

No. 1. The following verse is cited as Pāṇini's in *Sp* (No. 3634), *Sm* (p. 260), *Sk* (p. 38) and in *Su* (No. 1969). Ānandavardhana also cites this verse in his *Dhvanyāloka* (p. 35) but is silent about its authorship.

उपोढरागेण विलोलतारकं
तथा गृहीतं शशिना निशामुखम् ।
यथा समस्तं तिमिरांशुकं तया
पुरोऽपि रागाद्गलितं न लक्षितम् ॥

The theme of the verse is moon-rise. "In a fit of passion the moon seizes hold of the dame Night's face to kiss; the stars on her face are set in confusion. Her dark covering has completely fallen off her limbs, but, in a passion, she notices it not." The charm of the moon-lit night with its twinkling stars and the darkness rent asunder has inspired this simple, yet forceful poetic fancy. The words are soft and well-chosen; and the sentiment of moonlight's association with love directly expressed.

No. 2. This verse is included in *Sp.* (No. 3869), and *Su* (No. 1765) as definitely Pāṇini's. *Srk* contains this verse (No. 251), but describes it as anonymous; and *Sk* (2. 163) ascribes the authorship of this piece to some 'Omkaṇṭha.'

क्षपाः क्षामीकृत्य प्रसभमपहृत्याम्बु सरितां
प्रताप्योर्वी कृत्स्नां (सर्वं-vs) तरु-(वन-vs) गहनमुच्छोष्य
सकलम् ।
क्व संप्रत्युष्णांशुर्गत इति समालोकनपरा-(समन्वेषणपरा-vs)
स्तडिद्दीपालोका दिशि दिशि चरन्तीह जलदाः ॥

This is a description of the rainy season. "He thinned out the nights, he stole away by force the water from the rivers, he heated all the earth and dried away the plants and bushes. But where now has he of the burning rays gone? In search of him, the clouds wander about in all directions, with lightning as lamps."

No. 3. Included in *Sk* (1. 83. 1), *Srk* (920) and *Psr* (55b) as Pāṇini's, this is a beautiful specimen of nature poetry:

कह्लारस्पर्शगर्भैः शिशिरपरिचयात्कान्तिमद्भिः कराग्रै-
श्चन्द्रेणालिङ्गितायास्तिमिरनिवसने स्रंसमाने रजन्याः ।
अन्योन्यालोकिनीभिः परिचयजनितप्रेमनिःस्य(ष्य-vs)न्दनीभि-
र्दूरारूढे प्रमोदे हसितमिव परिस्पष्टमाशासखी(वधू)भिः ॥

The Moon holds in embrace the damsel Night; his hands are shining with the first flushes of the spring season, holding water-lilies; and the dark covering of the happy damsel is falling away. At this the ladies of the quarters, beside themselves with the joy of affection born out of acquaintance, look at each other and smile. The smile is radiating all over! The pleasant and bright nights of the cold season have caught here the poet's fancy. The imagery of the dark drapings falling down is repeated in No. 1.

No. 4. The following piece is given as Pāṇini's in *Sk* (2. 122. 1) and *Kvs* (No. 199). It is included in *Su* (No. 2037) and *Srk* (No. 450) as anonymous. But *Sp* ascribes this verse to the authorship of some 'Acala.'

पाणौ पद्मधियामधूककुसुमभ्रान्त्या तथा गण्डयोः
फुल्लेन्दीवरशङ्कया नयनयोर्बन्धूकबुद्ध्याधरे ।
लीयन्ते कबरीषु बान्धवजनप्रीतिप्रबद्धस्पृहा
दुर्वारा मधुपाः कियन्ति भवती स्थानानि रक्षिष्यति ॥

The poet here sights a lady with a swarm of bees hovering round her lovely face; her efforts to ward them off are of little avail. "It is natural that the chivalrous bees approach your face: your cheeks resemble the *madhūka* flowers (*bassa lalifora*). Your eyes are easily mistaken for the lotus in full bloom, your lips are indeed like the *bandhūka* flower (*pentapetes phoenicea*), and when you put your hand against your face, oh, they do appear like lilies to the poor bees; and the braids of your hair verily make the bees home-sick! They are mistaken, true, but they are irresistible too. Enough, madame, of your efforts! How many places can you guard at once?"

No. 5. *Srk* (No. 438) and *Kvs* (No. 186) give this verse as Pāṇini's but *Psr* (No. 110b) describes it as anonymous:

तन्वङ्गीनां स्तनौ दृष्ट्वा शिरः कम्पयते युवा ।
तयोरन्तरसंलग्नां दृष्टिमुत्पाटयन्निव ॥

The poetic quality of this piece is of course poor. "The young man shakes his head, seeing the breasts of the slender female: it is as if to pull away his attention, now centered in between them."

No. 6. Vāmana in his *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra* (4. 3. 27) quotes this verse which is also included in *Su* (No. 1815) as Pāṇini's; Mahimabhaṭṭa's *Vyaktiviveka* (p. 75) also gives this verse:

ऐन्द्रं धनुः पाण्डुपयोधरेण
शरद्दधानार्द्रनखक्षताभम् ।
प्रसादयन्ती सकलङ्कमिन्दुं
तापं रवेरभ्यधिकं चकार ॥

Here is a description of autumn. "The autumn with its fine rainbow and white clouds on the wet sky exhilarates the moon, and for the same reason, increases the heat of the sun." Hot days and pleasant nights characterise the autumn season, and this climatic fact is transformed into a poetic fancy. Autumn is pictured as the lady with fair breasts (*payodhara*) and the rainbow as the amorous nail-scar; she is wooing the unclean moon, and the disappointed sun burns with jealousy.

No. 7. This vigorous verse occurs in *Sk* (5. 364) and *Srk* (No. 1528) as a work of Pāṇini:

चञ्चत्पक्षाभिघातं ज्वलितहुतवहप्रौढधाम्नश्चितायाः
क्रोडाद्याकृष्टमूर्तेरहमहमिकया चण्डचञ्चुग्रहेण ।
सद्यस्तप्तं शवस्य ज्वलदिव पिशितं भूरि जग्ध्वार्धदग्धं
पश्यान्तःप्लुष्यमाणः प्रविशति सलिलं सत्वरं गृध्रराजः ॥

The scene is laid in the cremation ground. "A corpse is burning and the flames of the pyre are rising high. An old eagle pulls out from a corner of the pyre a limb of the dead body by its fierce beak, and smites at it again and again. At length it dismembers and swallows a large piece of the burning flesh—and instantly dives into the water to cool its throat." The observant

poet records his feelings while conveying the information. It is fine poetry indeed.

No. 8. *Sk* (5.73.4) and *Srk* (No. 1529) include this verse as Pāṇini's:

उद्बुद्धेभ्यः सुदूरं घनजनिततमःपूरितेषु द्रुमेषु ।
प्रोद्ग्रीवं पश्य पादद्वयनमितभुवः श्रेणयः फेरवाणाम् ॥

This also is a scene from the cremation ground. "In the dark night the tall and thick trees have darkened the place all the more. A corpse is burning and from the dead body is oozing profusely the foul secretion. A pack of jackals is seen licking this fluid, with necks stretched out and hind legs pressing down the earth below: the flames seem to issue forth from their fierce mouths." The imagery is powerful, if also lurid.

No. 9. *Su* (No. 1943) ascribes this verse to Pāṇini, and this is confirmed by Ruyyaka who quotes it in his *Alaṁkārasarvasva.*

निरीक्ष्य विद्युन्नयनैः पयोदो
मुखं निशायामभिसारिकायाः ।
धारानिपातैः सह किं नु वान्त-
श्चन्द्रोदयमित्यार्ततरं ररास ॥

A stormy night is described here. "The cloud gazed in the night with lightning eyes at the countenance of its girl (?); and barked piteously with a flood of tears: 'Is this moon a vomited one?'"

No. 10. *Srk* (No. 1387) gives this verse as Pāṇini's: but *Sk* which includes it in its collection mentions a 'Śabdārṇava' as its author:

न लोपो वर्णानां न खलु परतः प्रत्ययविधिः
विकारो नास्त्येव क्वचिदपि न भग्नाः प्रकृतयः ।
गुणो वा वृद्धिर्वा सततमुपकाराय जगतां
मुनेर्दाक्षीपुत्रादपि तव समर्थः पदविधिः ॥

This is doubtless a grammarian's poem, the precise import of which is obscure. There is mention in the poem of the 'Son of Dākṣī' (Pāṇini) and in all likelihood it is not Pāṇini's.

No. 11. Namisādhu cites this poem as Pāṇini's in his gloss on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* (2. 8); and gives the source as *Pātālavijaya*:

गतेऽर्धरात्रे परिमन्दमन्दं
 गर्जन्ति यत्प्रावृषि कालमेघाः ।
अपश्यती वत्समिवेन्दुबिम्बं
 तच्छर्वरी गौरिव हुंकरोति ॥

In this lovely little poem the disturbed nights of the rainy season have been immortalised in elegant imagery. "When it is past midnight, the dark clouds in the rainy season rumble along softly, slowly—as if bothered with the disappearance of the moon, as a cow would call forth its darling calf that has strayed away from her sight. The night resounds with that cry!" It is a poem at once simple and sublime.

No. 12. This piece is included in *Sk* (5. 21) as Pāṇini's:

असौ गिरेः शीतलकन्दरस्थः
 पारावतो मन्मथचाटुदक्षः ।
घर्मालसाङ्गीं मधुराणि कूजन्
 संवीजते पक्षपुटेन कान्ताम् ॥

The poet's fancy turns to the chivalrous "pigeon, adept in love's tender talk, seen in the cold ravine of the yonder mountain. Singing sweetly, he is fanning with the folds of his wings his beloved who is dull with heat!" A familiar sight indeed, but the poet has lifted it to a sublime height.

Nos. 13-16. The following four poems describing sun-set are included as Pāṇini's in *Su* (Nos. 1887, 1898, 1904, 1899):

विलोक्य सङ्गमे रागं पश्चिमाया विवस्वतः ।
कृतं कृष्णमुखं प्राच्या न हि नार्यो विनेर्ष्यया ॥

"Beholding the Sun's passion (red colour) at joining the lady of the West, she of the East was depressed (her face darkened): well, women are not without jealousy!" Pāṇini's talent for the sublime treatment of a simple theme is again in evidence: the red glow of the western horizon in the evening and corresponding darkness spreading over the eastern quarters.

अथाऽससादास्तमनिन्द्यतेजा
जनस्य दूरोज्झितमृत्युभीतेः ।
'उत्पत्तिमद्वस्तु विनाश्यवश्यं'
यथाहमित्येवमिवोपदेष्टुम् ॥

The poet's mood changes to a philosophical reflection: Why does the Sun set everyday? "The Sun of blameless light entered then into extinction, as if to teach a lesson to the mortal men who in fright attempt to keep Death far away: 'The thing that is born is bound to die,' and I am an instance!" The same mood continues in the next verse:

प्रकाश्य लोकान्भगवान्स्वतेजसा
प्रभादरिद्रः सवितापि जायते ।
अहो चला श्रीर्बलमानदामहो
स्पृशन्ति सर्वं हि दशाविपर्यये ॥

"The reverend Sun having illumined with his light all the world grows poor in his gifts—even the Sun! The fortune is indeed fickle: it smites all things, when conditions change."

सरोरुहाक्षीणि निमीलयन्त्या
रवौ गते साधु कृतं नलिन्या ।
अक्ष्णां हि दृष्ट्वाऽपि जगत्समग्रं
फलं प्रियालोकनमात्रमेव ॥

The poet has here recovered his romantic mood. "The lotus shuts her eyes, when the sun sets: well-done indeed! The eyes see all the world, but obtain their purpose only when their beloved is beheld!"

No. 17. *Su* (No. 1968) contains this piece of Pāṇini describing moon-rise:

शुद्धस्वभावान्यपि संहतानि
निनाय भेदं कुमुदानि चन्द्रः ।
अवाप्य वृद्धिं मलिनान्तरात्मा
जडो भवेत्कस्य गुणाय वक्रः ॥

"The moon rises and breaks up the compact union of the white lotus of the night, though it is a flower pure and straight! It is not surprising, then, that this foul-natured moon gets dimmed after a spurtive growth—for whose benefit is this crookedness ?" The exact import of the last line is uncertain.

No. 18. The following verse occurs in *Sk* (2. 88) with its authorhip ascribed to Pāṇini :

मुखानि चारूणि घनाः पयोधरा
नितम्बपृथ्व्यो जघनोत्तमश्रियः ।
तनूनि मध्यानि च यस्य सोऽभ्यगा-
त्कथं नृपाणां द्रविडीजनो हृदः ॥

The physical beauty of southern women is the theme of this piece.

No. 19. Included also in *Sk.* (2. 240) is this verse of Pāṇini :

पाणौ शोणतले तनूदरि दरक्षामा कपोलस्थली
विन्यस्ताञ्जनदिग्धलोचनजलैः किं म्लानिमानीयते ?
मुग्धे मुञ्चतु नाम चञ्चलतया भृङ्गः क्वचित्कन्दली-
मुन्मीलन्नवमालतीपरिमलः किं तेन विस्मारितम् ॥

The poet is stricken with sympathy for a girl in distress. The lovely one with a slender waist holds her eminent cheeks in her red hands, and sheds tears. The collyrium applied to her eyes has got disturbed by the tears and flows down the cheeks. "Why render your fair cheeks dirty thus? The romantic bee kisses the plantain bud? Let it, its nature is fickle! But does it then forget the fragrance of the fresh jasmine?" The context is obscure, but the girl's sorrow may probably be due to the amorous adventures of her lover.

No. 20. Here is a fine specimen of nature poetry, included in *Srk* (No. 946) under Pāṇini's authorship.

असौ समालोकितकाननान्तरे
विकीर्णविस्पष्टमरीचिकेसरः ।
विनिर्गतः सिंह इवोदयाचला-
द्गृहीतनिष्पन्दमृगो निशाकरः ॥

The night-fall is here described. "The moon emerges from the recesses of the forest scattering around his distinct rays. It resembles the lion, with a still antelope in its jaws, springing out of its mountain retreat." The scattered rays of light remind the poet of the lion's mane, and the antelope-like spots of the moon bring to his mind the killed prey held in the lion's mouth. If the *Pañcatantra* account of Pāṇini's death be reliable, this verse acquires a particular but painful significance.

Nos. 21–23. The following three pieces are taken from the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva, where they are cited as selections from Pāṇini's *Jāmbavatīvijaya*. The first is said to be from the second canto of the poem, the second from the fourth, and the last form the eighteenth.

अस्ति प्रतीच्यां दिशि सागरस्य
वेलोर्मिगूढे हिमशैलकुक्षौ ।
पुरातनी विश्रुतपुण्यशब्दा
महापुरी द्वारवती च नाम्ना ॥

"In the western direction of the ocean, whose rolling waves rise high (and conceal from view), and in the valley of the snowy mountains lies the great and ancient city *Dvāravatī* by name, celebrated far and wide." Perhaps the reference is to the capital of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva in modern Saurashtra, but how about the snowy mountains?

अनेन मात्रानुचितं धराधरैः
पुरातनं सा जलतं महीक्षिताम् ।
ददर्श सेतुं महतो जरन्तया
विशीर्णसीमन्त इवोदयश्रिया ॥

This, as well as the one before, is in the *Upajāti-vṛtta*, which Pāṇini is said to be fond of. The next verse is in *anuṣṭubh*.

त्वया सहार्जितं यच्च यच्च सख्यं पुरातनम् ।
चिराय चेतसि पुरस्तरुणीकृतमद्य मे ॥

Some young man confides to his girl that the acquiantance he picked up with her blossomed into an 'ancient' friendship and was now uppermost in his heart.

No. 24–25. The two verses that follow are ascribed to Pāṇini in *Psr* (10 and 816):

अनुडुहि जितनीडजेन्द्रवेगे
कृतनिबिडासनमुज्झिताघपीडे ।
स्मरशमनतडित्कडारदृष्टि
मृडमुडुराडुपशोभिचूडमीडे ॥

This is in praise of Śiva whose crest is resplendant with the moon in it. He sits in the firm posture blowing away the torment of sins, and his tan-coloured eye was the lightning that burnt up Eros.

हरकोपानलप्लुष्टविरूढस्मरशाखिनः ।
अयमाभाति तन्वङ्गयाः पाणिः प्रथमपल्लवः ॥

The tender hand of a slender lady has here appeared to the poet as the first sprout of the tree of Eros that has grown afresh after it was scorched by the fire of Śiva's fury.

No. 26. Puruṣottama in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* quotes this *anuṣṭubh* verse and ascribes it to Pāṇini:

हरिणा सह सख्यं ते बोभवीत्विति यदब्रवीः ।
न जाघटीति युक्तौ यत् सिंहद्विरदयोरिव ॥

No. 27. The following verse is cited as Pāṇini's by Kṛṣṇa-līlāśuka in his commentary on Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*:

शरदि रविरश्मितप्ता बिभ्राणः
शोषमतिशयग्लपिताः ।
ज्वरिता इव लक्ष्यन्ते लङ्घन-
योग्या महासरितः ॥

The rivers in autumn appear feverish and thin, dried up by the rays of the sun and writhing excessively : one may easily leap across them.

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SOCIAL SCIENCE FOR INDIA

Indu Bhushan Ghatak, B.A., C.T.E.

The human world is constantly resounding with incessant tumult of joy and grief, hope and despair, rise and fall, rivalry and conflict. The student of social science, like novelists, dramatists and poets, has to deal with the coming and going, construction and destruction, laughter and weeping, hopes and aspirations, customs and manners, instincts and beliefs of the vast world fair. The novelist and the dramatist perceive, with their deep fellow feeling, sympathy and sense of unity the various problems of collective life and particularly the joys and griefs, desires and aspirations, successes, failures and bickerings of the heart in individual life and artfully depict, with their language, ideas and love and also by dint of their aesthetic feeling and creative faculty, imaginary scenes of the different aspects of a particular society and individual life based on realities.

The poet, by dint of his genius, gives expression to the universal song and dance pervading his mind through language and ideas and puts limit to the limitless and gives shape to the shapeless. On the screen of his mind illumined with divine light appear all the scenes of the drama of the universe with novel beauties. He sees with his mind's eye the constant cyclic dance in the human world like the incessant dance of the atoms and molecules of the inanimate world.

The materialistic student of social science cannot lay claim to the poet's divine inspiration and perception of the unseen; and it is not proper for him to attempt at the skilful flights of imagination of the novelist or the dramatist. So, he attempts only to ascertain the real causes and processes of the evolution, organisation and activity of human society by observing, collecting, analysing and assimilating carefully all the facets of the society and in search of the thread of system and order tries to find out harmony among the inharmonious complexities of the vast human congregation.

In what appears at first sight to be a buzzing chaos is gradually revealed the mystery of relation between cause, effect and order. The rhythm becomes apparent and the harmony is caught. We may, by the cultivation of social science, feel a faint echo of the sweet song pervading the universe which the poet hears amidst the tumult of the universe.

Like all other sciences, social science, proclaims that human society is subject to universal order and governed by established laws. The business of social science is to investigate, discover and delineate the laws governing a particular part of the universe.

When man appeared on the earth, the field of his activity, the only means of his livelihood was his body and his senses and certain instincts such as instinct of self-preservation, sex-instinct, instinct of pugnacity, flight, curiosity, construction, self-assertion, self-abasement, acquisition, etc.

Due to repetition and practice certain conditioned reflexes are associated with the natural instincts. By the help of memory and experience these natural instincts undergo changes. Psychic processes leave their traces on the nervous system.

By mutual contact consciousness of kind is excited among them and natural instincts of human minds being developed begin to act as impulses. Sex-instinct give rise to love, instinct of flight to fear, curiosity to amazement and spirit of research, and hostility to anger. Application of intelligence and will power is possible by the association of natural instincts and impulses; and thus grows personality and moral freedom. In the primitive society, magic was born out of the laws of contiguity and similarity of the minds.

By the help of the natural instincts man is first acquainted with and related to the world which may be perceived through the senses and the impulses give him a peculiar taste of the feeling of association of the mental world by means of ideas. The tie of the society strengthens through various relationships and conflicts between man and man.

In reality, society is not only a collection of men: it is something higher. The life of the society being developed by the

lines of thought and action of the past and present, regulates its future. Organisation is the soul of the society. It gives directive energy to the society. A German philosopher has rightly said that man becomes man among men. Indeed, the personality of a particular man is manifested and developed because he belongs to a society.

From all the traces of men of the past found underground in the beds of rivers, in caves and in rocks, scholars infer that primitive men wandered about in small groups in search of food. Individual freedom is to be sacrificed to a certain extent in a group, but willingly no one does so. So many opine that man has not the instinct of gregariousness.

Be that as it may, it is certain that society came into existence from the inevitable desire for self-preservation in the struggle of life in the helpless primitive stage and not for any contract or the spirit of co-operation. The primitive human society might have been formed with the object of self-maintenance and self-perpetuation.

In attempts at achieving these two objectives economic and industrial organisations might have been formed and also family and social organisations. Rights, marriage-systems, civil and criminal laws originated from an attempt to harmonise production with the numercial strength of the society. Although there was no induration of the family among the primitive human groups, it gradually cropped up.

The fear of the supernatural was the chief element in the rigidity of the primitive society. Fear generates from the sight of death, spirits of dead persons and other unnatural events. In fear men kept close to each other and to remove the cause of fear they, in a body, took to magic and religious ceremonies.

Gradually un[illegible] the influence of social forces and forces of nature, the original possessions of men were enlarged and ameliorated. Individual and collective mode of life, manners and customs, nature and character, religion and mode of government, literature and arts and sciences improved and developed. Thus we see that co-operation and desire for union are the life

of human society. The growth and development of society is due to attempts at adaptation to natural surroundings, union among men, agreement between societies in spite of diversities and attempt at bringing about harmony with the spiritual world. The deeper and stronger the union and agreement, the more elevated and flourishing the society. Society is regulated by religion, and politics including nationality. In certain societies such as Hindu, religion is predominant. In Western societies nationality is the guiding factor.

In proportion to the development of civilization the connecting link and extent of collective life enlarges. The tie of mutual obligation and responsibility becomes firm and according to qualities every man acquires his rights. To do any work in co-operation a leader is necessary. In the most primitive societies among the Mincope tribe in the Andamans and the Vedda tribe in Ceylon the custom of electing a leader is rarely found. A comparatively clever man naturally becomes the leader. In comparatively advanced societies, one or more, superior in respect of intelligence, age, experience and respectability is or are elected leader or leaders.

Every human group claimed right to a jungle or acquired plots of lands as their fields for hunting and pasturage. At first, there was common property, then came joint property and at last came individual property, each man having his particular plot of land.

With the growth of exchange of property grew trade. As an inevitable result of trade and development of property financial inequalities and class differentiation appeared.

In course of time when the stereotyped system of work and mode of life become stale, mental lethargy comes in and the door of progress is shut. Life becomes inactive. Under such circumstances, it is found that when it comes in contact with one or more new tribes or societies the static society has its re-awakening and every member has his free thinking. Some thoughtful men of the society by making a comparative study of the duties and prohibitions try to modify them and in most cases become successful

and although they do not approve of all the manners, customs and beliefs of the new-comers, allow them to follow these themselves, introducing some particular manners and beliefs in their own society thereby showing their wisdom and broad-mindedness.

Development of personality is the sign of progressive society. In this way, attempt at and struggle for moral freedom goes on. When free thinking is awakened by contact with new ideas, thoughts, manners and customs introduced by different tribes and cultures, it is found that one or more wise men introduce new lines of thinking, new ideals and new energy into their society and remove the duties and prohibitions unsuitable to the times and pave the way for the improvement of society introducing new rules, laws and customs. Those groups, who cannot adapt themselves to the new social environment by necessary changes according to the times, fall back in the struggle for life and stand on the brink of ruin. This is marked specially among certain primitive tribes.

Among the groups who rapidly thrive by coming in contact or mixing with more civilised tribes, it is mostly found that instead of self-government of different villages a small federation of villages is formed and the power of administration is vested in one or more leaders; and aristocracy comes into existence. In many cases feudal system is introduced. With the progress of civilisation, classification in the society multiplies. In many places, a class of serfs and slaves comes into existence. Industry and trade flourish. Class mobility comes in. Men with special aptitudes by dint of their merit or power are promoted to higher classes, and some are degraded for their disqualifications. In modern times although there are hierarchical classes in western countries, yet they are mobile and there is rivalry among different political theories such as communism, bolshevism, socialism, democratic socialism, democracy, republicanism, syndicalism, fascism, capitalism, and classless society.

Fortunately in India, the sages of ancient times built such a well organised nation and society protected by religion amidst

diversities of races and classes that in India the above noted problems never arose. In modern times such problems are arising by contact with western civilisation. The mobility of Indian society being almost extinct these problems are becoming more and more acute.

From age to age, India reared different nations on her lap. She still bears traces of the activities and cultures of different nations and societies. She built an unique and glorious Hindu society and culture by bringing about unity amidst diversity. Though the society which was established many centuries ago as a result of the thinking, austerity and organisation of the ancient sages deteriorated through the vicissitudes of circumstances, yet, even today its liveliness, character and high ideals are unparalleled. Such a shining example of unity amidst diversity and concord amidst discord in a vast society cannot be found anywhere in the world.

When the dark screen of the past ages was illumined by the light of researches of modern scholars, in South and Central India, a number of unpolished stone weapons and a few prehistoric cave paintings were discovered. These have been accepted as the work of the most ancient people of India. From the physique and height of a few short-statured, dark complexioned flat-nosed and curly-headed men, among a few tribes of South India such as Kadar, Pulia, Urali, now on the verge of extinction, ethnologists have inferred that in their veins is flowing still a thin stream of Negrito blood. They are of opinion that the earliest inhabitants of India were one or more Negrito tribes. Dr. Hutton is of opinion that in the veins of the Keniak Nāgas of Assam also Negrito blood is flowing. In Northern India and in Bengāl, there might possibly have been a Negrito tribe at some time.

If it is proper to guess the condition of the Negrito society now extinct in India from the present condition of Kadar tribe of South India and modern Negrito tribes of the Andamans and Melenisia then we may say that the Negritos of India forming themselves into small groups earned their livelihood by gathering

wild fruit and roots and hunting and fishing. Among them there were leaders. Sex-relations were governed by rules and regulations and there were funeral rites and thus belief in the next world and the fear of evil spirits. According to the classification of qualities of Hindu Social Science they were तामसिक (*tāmasika*) of inferior merit. However, there is no trustworthy proof of the fact that the extinct Negrito tribe has left a stamp on the culture of India.

Dr. Hutton says that worship of the 'Bo' tree and the use of bow and arrow have been bequeathed by the Negrito tribe. But there is proof of the use of bow and arrow among the primitive tribes of almost all the countries of the world except Australia. Worship of 'Bo' tree is not found among the Negritos of the Andamans.

During the latter part of the enactment of the drama of life of the dark-skinned Negrito tribe now extinct, the ancestors of the present Muṇḍas, Bhils, Santals, Oraons, Khonds and Gonds, etc. appeared on the stage of India with stone-weapons in their hands. They were probably an inferior branch of a Caucacian tribe. In the opinion of scholars they are the nearest cousins of the present uncivilised tribes of Australia. So they call them Proto-Australoid tribe and include their language under Austric. They entered India before the Dravadians, so they are also called Pre-Dravidian race.

They gradually spread all over India and maintained their supremacy in India for a long time. Probably, they partially destroyed the former Negrito tribe and partially absorbed them and as a result of admixture of blood the new race degenerated in the shape and size of its body.

It is inferred that the Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Australoid race is the substratum of the present inhabitants of India. The different branches of the race according to the extent of adaptation to the natural and social environments and according to the extent of their social morality are placed in different scales of civilisation and culture.

Some branches live by hunting, some by cattle-rearing, some by shifting cultivation, some are settled agriculturists, some earn

their livelihood by cottage industry or manual labour. Some having fallen back in the struggle of life maintain themselves as agrestic serfs or by begging. But this occupational differentiation is not rigid. Though among them the village leader and the village priest are respected there is no class hierarchy in their society.

Only, if among the comparatively advanced agriculturist branch any group can found a village by clearing jungle they are given the honourable title of '*Bhumihar*.' But for this there is no difference in social customs. Though among them, some comparatively backward branches coming in conflict with the more civilised Dravidians were oppressed and downtrodden, yet it will not be improper to infer that some comparatively advanced branches coming in close contact with Dravidian culture were directed in the path of social and cultural progress.

Among the branches of agriculturists mutual co-operation, union and harmony were more manifest. Owing to comparative abundance of agricultural produce, their number increased by leaps and bounds; and the more favourably placed families who enjoyed greater leisure devoted themselves to the enlightenment of their minds. With material prosperity there was social and individual aggrandisement and development of mental culture among some of the branches. Though the village was the centre of the society of the Pre-Dravidian agriculturist tribes, yet the sphere of the society of some of the advanced tribes such as Muṇḍas and Oraons, was not confined to their own village. A number of villages formed a confederation or a greater society and traces of this are still extant.

There is a saying among them that at sometime they had their small or large democratic kingdoms. As a token of royal power in every confederation and village of the Muṇḍas and Oraons, flags with different emblems are still preserved carefully and paid homage. In the Central Province there was upto modern times the flourishing and powerful kingdom of the Pre-Dravidian Gond tribe. Among the Muṇḍa and other tribes, there is a saying about the occupation of kingdoms in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. From the similarity between the

languages of the Khasis of Assam and Mon-khemers of Burma, it is inferred that the Pre-Dravidian tribes spread from the foot of the south-west Himālayas into Central India through the Ganges and Jumna valleys and into Burma and Cambodia through Bengāl and Assam. Ethnologist F. E. Pargiter, has concluded from his researches that the ancestors of the Pre-Dravidian tribes were the Soudyumnas of the *purāṇas.* Before the supremacy of the Ailos or the Āryo-nordic races, these Soudyumnas and Manabs or the ancestors of the present Dravidians and Arabs or the ancestors of the modern Bengālees, Gujarātis, and Marāṭhas established their influence in India.

However, after the occupation of India by the Ailos or Āryan races, most of the Pre-Dravidian tribes who inhabited the fertile valleys of the Ganges, Jumna and Son were compelled to take shelter in forest or hilly regions. Traces of their past supremacy are found in the names of some places, some rivers and some words of Bengāli, Oriya and Hindi literatures. The Bengāli word दा (*dā*) has been derived from the word of the Muṇḍa language. So, it runs that रिपाल्दद्ध, फिनादद्ध have been derived from the language of the Pre-Dravidian races. The original name of the river Damoḍar is दामुक्ष. दासु is the name of a person among the Muṇḍas and Sāntals and दा (*dā*) means जला (*jala*). Bengāli टेंकि, मोटा and पोता have been derived from the Muṇḍa words टोक, मोटो and उपणा. The practice of counting numbers was introduced from the Muṇḍas.

Democracy still prevails in the society and administration of the Pre-Dravidan tribes. *Panchāyet* was, probably, for the first time established by them in India. They truly respect the institution as a religious one. Even to this day the Muṇḍas, before giving evidence in law courts, take oath in the name of *panchāyet* according to the custom prevailing among the tribe. Most of their deities are feminine. They probably first established hero-worship in India. There is great similarity between the Hindu goddess Candi and the god Candi of the Oraon and other tribes. At midnight the unmarried Oraon youth worships Candi at Candisthan in a naked state. The emblem of our goddess Lakṣmi is paddy sheaf which is also the emblem of the goddess

Sarna of the Muṇḍas and Oraons. Ancestor worship is the chief rite of this religion.

There is so much of separatism among them that some tribes do not accept rice from others. The lower branches of the Pre-Dravidian tribes possess few good qualities. In comparatively higher tribes we may find some qualities related more to strength of body than of mind. Some of these tribes being included in Hindu society have prospered. Some of them call themselves Khatriyas, (Kṣatriyas) assume the title of 'Singh' and wear the sacred thread.

When the glory of the society of the Pre-Dravidian tribes reached its zenith, the ancestors of the present Dravidians entered India through the North-Western Frontier Province with shouts of victory and wild uproar. The Nordic Āryans who came afterwards called them Asurs. The powerful tribe were also called monsters and giants. Being the cousins of the Mediterranean races, they may be called Indo-Mediterranean. After entry into India, some of their branches advancing eastward established colonies at several places. They were mixed up with the Pre-Dravidians at some places.

The hilly region of Chotanāgpur became one of their centres and many traces of them are still found.

In ancient times, it is said, they founded colonies and established supremacy in Assam. The names of Mahirung Danab, Hatakāssur, Śambarāssur, Ratnāssur, Narakāsur, are well-known to the people of Assam.

Though some of their branches settled in Northern and Eastern India, the villages of the Ganges and Jumna being occupied by the Pre-Dravidian tribes, most of the Proto-Dravidians crossed the Vindyās and entering Southern India established supremacy there. They are the ancestors of the present Tamils, Telugus and Malayālīs.

Everybody knows that the kingdoms of Āndhra, Rāṣṭrakūta, Cēra, Chōḷa, and Pāṇḍya founded by them grew very powerful. They carried on trade with Egypt and other western countries

by sea. With the progress of civilisation classification in society multiplied. In Dravidian society the highest rank was occupied by the *Rāja* or *Maller*; then came the feudatory chief or *Ballal*; then the farmer or *Bellal*; then the tradesmen or *Banij*. All these classes were high. Next to them were the labourers or *Benoyil-baller* and the lowest were the slaves or *Adior*. In each class, there were many divisions.

Separatism was very prominent among the Dravidians and their sense of feeling of untouchability culminated in the institution of inflexible hereditary caste system of India. Probably through the prevalence of *Hatayoga* among the Dravidians this feeling of untouchability became acute. At last when they came in contact with the Nordic Āryans, they found that the Āryans for their love of purity had been trying to avoid contact with the Pre-Dravidians. By this, their sense of external purity was strengthened.

From his researches, Pargiter has concluded that the Ikṣāku dynasty of Ayōdhya, the dynasty of Janaka of Bideha (Vidēha), the Vaiśalak dynasty of Vaiśāli, the Sarayat dynasty of Kushas-thali in Gujarāt, the Karus dynasty of Māhismati and a few other royal dynasties had descended from the Dravidian race. At last among the ancient dynasties of the Dravidian race only a few, Cēra, Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya could maintain their independence. All others were conquered by the Nordic Āryans. In certain places there was admixture of Āryan blood.

The Dravidian race, probably for the first time, melted copper and iron and made weapons and ornaments and made utensils of different shapes by burning earth and made houses by burning bricks, dug graves in rocks for dead bodies and built memorials, built ships for voyages and improved agriculture by means of irrigation. Most probably they introduced the images of gods and goddesses in India. They might have also introduced serpent and *Liṅga* worship. These kinds of worship were prevalent among all other ancient races of the world. Worship of the earth is found among the Pre-Dravidian tribes.

The Dravidians excelled in the cultivation of literature and fine arts and have been famous from very early times. There was no sculptor who could vie with Mayasura. Their power of organisation and acting was very great. The Tamils have a keen sense of realism while the Telugus are proverbially emotional.

Philologists say that the Bengāli words नरिकल, मोत, काल, गोटा have been taken from the Dravidian language.

Everybody knows that one fortunate and enterprising branch of this Dravidian race settling in the valley of the Indus built a flourishing society and civilisation in the midst of very favourable natural surroundings taking advantage of contact with different cultures of different races and was ranked as the most civilised in the world.

In Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa there are many traces of the versatile genius and glory of pre-historic Dravidian civilisation which include *Liṅga* worship, *Matrika* worship, tree worship, serpent worship and practice of *yōga*. In course of time, the grand civilisation of five thousand years B.C. became extinct leaving only a few vestiges.

From very ancient times, a few yellow skinned Mongolian races found their way to the foot of the Himālayas in the north and north-eastern borders of India. Their centre has been Assam. Here we find the Boro branch including Garos, Kacharis, Ravak, Kochs, Tipras, Lalungs, Majongs, the Tai Branch including Khamtis, Shans and Ahoms; the Kukichin branch including old and new Kukis and Maithi or Manipuris; the Kacheiu branch; the Mon-khemer branch including Khasis and Çintengs; the Bhotchin branch including Abors, Miris, Akas, Daflas, Mismis and the different Nāga tribes (Ao, Rengma, Sema, Lohta, etc.).

The Limbu tribe of Nepal and the Lepchas of Nepal and Sikkim are mixed Mongolian tribes.

Though these tribes have been living in India for a long time, yet most of them do not fall within the Hindu society in matters of social organisation, culture, manners and customs.

The Hindus of Assam may be divided into three classes, *viz.* families whose ancestors migrated to Assam from Bengāl in very

ancient times and with whose blood Mongolian blood had been mixed, the original inhabitants of Assam belonging to the present Hindu society and families who have settled in Assam migrating in comparatively modern times from Bengāl.

From the Nidharpur copper-plates of Rāja Bhaskar Varma it is known that one and a half thousand years ago during the reign of Mahabhuti Varma (450–520 A.D.) many Vaidic Brāhmin families settled in Assam getting lands free of rent from the *Rāja* and some indigenous, original inhabitants were included in Hindu society. Mr. O'Malley has written that many Brāhmins of Manipur married Kṣatriya girls. Contribution of Mongolian races to Indian society and civilisation is insignificant.

After the advent of the Dravidian race into India and long before the advent of the Nordic Āryans one branch of the white skinned Alpine race entered India in many groups from the hilly valleys of Central Asia crossing the Pamir Pass. They are the ancestors of the Bengālees, Gujarātis, Marāṭhas and a few other races.

Half a century ago, Mr. Risley expressed his opinion that the Bengālees have grown out of the admixture of Dravidian and Mongolian blood. This view has been lately discarded. It has now been established that the Bengālees and their cousins Gujarātis and Marāṭhas, etc. belonged originally to Alpine stock. Though this Indian branch of the white skinned Alpine race had more or less contact with the dark skinned Pre-Dravidians and brown bodied Dravidians, the main stream of their blood has continued to be Alpine. And among them, the higher classes such as Brāhmins, Kāyasthas and Baidyas have been tinged at some places with a little of Āryan blood and the lower classes of East Bengāl might, at some places, have a little Mongolian blood in them.

The French, Italians, Albanians and Russians, some Germans and the Dakli, Shighni, Rosni, Ishkasani, Khotani and Pakhpo tribes of Central Asia belong to Alpine race.

By studying the genealogies in the *purāṇas* Pargiter has arrived at the conclusion that at some time the kingdoms of Aṅga,

Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Sumbha, Pundra, Souvira, Madra, Bahlika and Sibi were occupied by the Arabs or Alpines. There is agreement between the records in the *purāṇas* and the conclusions of the ethnologists.

The people of the above kingdoms have been called birds in Aitireya Āraṇyaka. Mahamahōpādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri has said that when the Āryans came to the Punjab from Central Asia, Bengāl was civilised. When the Āryans extended their settlement and came to Allahabad, they became jealous of the civilisation of Bengāl and described the Bengālees as birds devoid of sense of religion. But there is more cogent reason for giving the appellation of bird to the Bengālees. Among the Alpine races the Albanians did not, till recent times, attain nationality. They were in a tribal state. They were backward among the western races. They still retain their ancient manners and customs. They call themselves a race of eagles. Their country is also called the Land of Eagles.

In the Vedic age of India, the Bengālees like their cousins, the Albanians, considered themselves as birds and used national flags with the emblem of bird. The Marāṭhas, cousins of the Bengālees, have their clans named Garurs and Hawks. R. B. Gupta, supports the saying that the Garur clan draws the picture of bird in their clan flag. The Romans had the emblem of eagle in their national flag.

In this connection, the name of Viṣṇu as *Garudadwaja* comes to our mind. Viṣṇu might have been the original god of the Alpine races in India, and Śiva the original god of the Dravidians and Brahma that of the Āryans. Afterwards, in the process of assimilation and synthesis Hinduism came to hold these three gods as three forms of God himself.

The culture of the Bengālee and other races was developing by travel and settlement in different countries and by contact and admixture with different races. Some Alpine groups spread over the tract between the Himālayas and the Ganges. Pargiter concludes from a study of the *purāṇas*, that in the Punjab, the

Arabs (Alpine) occupied Sind, Soubir, Kaikeya, Madra, Bahlika, Sibi and Ambaset regions.

When different races and castes arising out of mutual contact among the Pre-Dravidians, Dravidians and Alpines were passing their days helter skelter, in different parts of India, with their own societies and cultures, through rivalries, quarrels, joys and sorrows and vicissitudes of fortune, the most talented, powerful, imaginative and active Nordic Āryan race, chanting Vedic hymns entered the stage of India through the north-western border of the country.

There is difference of opinion about the original abode and the time of entry into India of these Āryans. However, from the Ṛgveda it may be guessed that these new people were engaged for a long time in warfare with the *asuras* (Dravidians) to establish their supremacy in northern India. These *asuras* were the powerful and prosperous Dravidian race. Most probably warriors of some of the higher branches of Pre-Dravidian race joined with the Dravidian warriors to resist the advance of the Nordic Āryans. At last, the newcomers became victorious and the glorious civilisation built up by the Dravidians in the valley of the Indus collapsed leaving only a few vestiges.

The Āryan race carrying the Vedas were not so advanced as the Dravidians in point of materialistic civilisation; but their culture, excellence of language, genius, power of imagination, ideology and spiritualism were wonderful and glorious.

When mutual conflict and hostility subsided and peace was established admixture of the people developed. Vedic oblations and sacrifices came to be mixed up with Pre-Vedic forms of worship. The religion of the non-Āryans was reformed and refined and was assimilated in the Hindu religion. The rites of the different societies of India were harmonised and the duties and responsibilities of different classes were determined according to different cultural attainments and differences of rights and privileges. By assigning rights and duties to different classes the path of social reform and gradual progress of all classes was made smooth.

The classification of Hindu society is not based on wealth as in western countries, but on qualities. Sacrifice, forbearance, austerity, cleanliness, mercy, knowledge and theism are the qualities a Brāhmin possessed.

Instances of promotion and demotion from one caste to another according to qualities are found in the *śāstras*.

According to western scholars social forces and forces of nature under which society develops are the following:

Natural environment,
Hereditary tendencies,
Social environment such as tradition, family and social education, and
Contact of cultures and races.

Long, long before the western scholars were born the ancient Hindu *ṛṣis* realised the responsibility of every man and society of discharging the obligations to gods, mankind, ancestors and *ṛṣis* and this signifies the chief theory of social science.

Besides the above four forces the influence of great men goes a long way to give a new life to the society. The Hindu *ṛṣis* clearly expressed this view.

The prescription of five great sacrifices to be performed as daily duty by every man for promotion of the individual and collective life is founded on the basis of this original theory of social science.

The Hindu *ṛṣis* were not satisfied with only revealing the theories of social psychology. They prescribed rules and regulations tending to ameliorate individual and social life by applying theories born of practical experience.

The conception of obligations and sacrifices and the conception of different castes taking from the different parts of the body of the Supreme Being विराट पुरुष (*virāta puruṣa*) in the *śāstras* are the chief factors in social science.

Dēva-Jagna (*Yajña*) is meant for harmony between man and forces of nature. Pitṛ-Jagna (*Yajña*) is meant for union with the ancestors and for self-perpetuation. Ṛṣi-Jagna (*Yajña*) is meant for union with the preceptors. Nṛi-Jagna (*Yajña*) is the new way of realising union between society and universal mankind. Bhūt

Jagna (*Yajña*) is meant for realising the peculiar relation between man and all other creatures.

In India where Nṛi-Jagna and Bhūt-Jagna are included under the five *mahājagñas* of human life and where the mantra "जननीजन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी" is prevalent, there cannot be want of nationalism. It was only lying dormant on account of adverse circumstances. At present with the change of circumstances *and close contact with Western civilisation and literature*, it is awakening.

But it is an error to accept nationalism as the highest virtue. Those who, in the light of western society, think that national spirit has not been developed among the Indians do not appear to have comprehended the place of national spirit. It ranks high in human heart no doubt; but it is not the highest. It is a mixed thing. Good and evil, broad and narrow, both are included in it. In comparison with some other spirit, it is very liberal; with another it is very narrow. According to our *śāstras* national spirit is very good; but there is a far better spirit than this. It plays a very important part in the development and ennoblement of the heart, but not the most.

The religion of the Āryans involves the following factors:

Self-love, love of one's own family, love of friends and relatives, love of co-villagers, and love of people of one's own province.

After these five steps come love of people of one's own community or one's own country, love of people of slightly different communities, love of all mankind, love of all creatures, and love of all objects, animate or inanimate.

All this is the highest creed of the religion of the Āryans. The Āryans want to go above this even by merging themselves in the Almighty.

The national spirit of the Indians has been overshadowed by this highest spirit in their hearts and that is manifesting itself at present.

Social science teaches us that the aim of the mysteries of the universe is harmony in individual life, social life and harmony among mankind. This will probably be the last act of the drama of the universe, the predestined end of human world.

YEARLY RECORDS OF THE MISSION OF CARUAR*

(Fathers of the Discalced Mission)

Written by Father P. F. Francis Xavier of St. Anne

Translated by S. SILVA

Chapter XXV of the years 1805, 1806 and 1807

In the beginning of the year 1805 I was sent as Visitor to the Mission in the Kingdom of 'Coorg' by our Vicar General under whom it is, because very serious evils occurred there during the last five years partly by the fault of a certain priest of the secular clergy who was Missionary there, partly by the malice of some other priests of the Goa Diocese, partly by the party zeal of the Goan Prelate, D. Emmanuel of St. Catherine of the Discalced Portuguese Carmelites, whose peculiar bent for giving trouble to the Ministers of the Holy Roman Church in India has always been remarkable. What I discovered there and whatever was done by me I exposed in rather full details in a special writing which a little later was sent by the Vicar Apostolic to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith. This brought the result that the claimed right of the Goan Bishop came to an end straightaway by a Roman Rescript and all disputes were settled.[31]

To restrain or at least to diminish fresh attempts of the same Prelate till the Roman Rescript came, I sent him myself a copy or rather a summary of the above mentioned writing of mine. From this it happened that that Prelate who till then had borne himself in a friendly manner, broken by no incident, was highly incensed towards me. From this too, it happened that a certain

* Continued from Volume L Page 108.

31. In the General Congregation (of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith) held on the 21st of July 1806 the Most Eminent Fathers wrote back: "For the present the Vicar Apostolic of the Moughal is to be kept in possession of the Mission of the Kingdom of Coorg and it is to be written to the Goan Archbishop according to the mind expressed in the Sacred Congregation."

Goan Semi-Carmelite who among all his advisers was his intimate one, in a rather long letter sent to me riled very much against me and with a full mouth abused me heavily and abused also the Vicar Apostolic, his predecessors and all the Apostolic Missionaries who worked here before us. This happened to be most convenient and according to my desires; for I was waiting for an occasion in which I might suitably enter the arena so as to be able to bring before the eyes of that same Bishop and his counsellors and take them to task for the numberless vexations and injustices which through him for the space of many years, both Vicars and Missionaries Apostolic had suffered. Therefore, with a most ready heart I wrote a rather lengthy reply to his letter; and in it I did not neglect the counsel of the wise man: "Reply to the foolish according to his foolishness lest he should appear to himself to be wise" (*Proverto* Chapter 26 V. 5). Although this my answer generated some hatred towards me, yet I saw a happy result of it; for after this the Goan Prelate put an end to the vexations and not even a word, at least openly, he grumbled against us as long as he lived. He lived still seven years.

In this year 1805 I bought for Rs. 48/- from a certain idolator a small estate almost uncultivated, situated on the bank of the river in a place called '*colibaga*' nearly two miles distant from our house. The name of the estate is '*Tanaxa baga*.'

In the year 1806, in January, Father F. Valentinus of St. Theresa on his return from home (Genoa) from Malabar sailing with a contrary wind for Bombay landed here and after a stay of a few hours went on in his voyage.

In the same year on the 25th of June the Most Illustrious and Reverend D. Peter of Alcantara of St. Anthony, our Vicar Apostolic came here. He had been summoned to Malabar that since the Vicar Apostolic[32] of these Missionaries had been dead

32. D. Dr. Aloysius of Jesus (Aloysius Pianazzi) C.D. of the Roman Province. Born 3rd December 1743 in Muriscapa, (Dioc. of Novara); Professed 10th January 1762, deputed to the Mission of Malabar 30th July 1771; elected Bishop of Usulem in Partibus and Apostolic of Malabar 30th March 1784; died at Verapoly 2nd April 1802. [Cf. Hurach. Carm. Fase IV, 283 SS. or Anat. C.D. a XII (1938) p. 209-252.]

now four years, he might confer Holy Orders on many clergys. After which he visited the Coorg Mission and from there travelling by land came here, suffering from a form of ague which he had got on account of the fatigue and the rains. He stayed here till the 2nd of October and on the 13th of July ordained Deacon John Nunes. On the 6th and 16th July and 14th of September he administered sacrament of confirmation to 379 men and women both of this Mission and of the neighbouring Missions.

In the year 1807, I received from the public officials a field in the village called *Sirvar*[33] with a burden of paying every year a tax of 36 *paissa*. This field at that time was quite blocked up with mounds, ditches, thickets, reed thickets and other forest trees so that it appeared to be a forest glade rather than a field. At an expense of Rs. 60/- I made it cultivable. It has a double name because it is composed of a double plot: *Ager Chalta* and *Murukuttial Gadda*. See appendix after Chapter XXVII.

Chapter XXVI of the year 1808

At last the law suit which I mentioned in Chapter XXIII under the year 1801 came to an end. About its beginning, progress and end I add here what seems to be good to be handed over to posterity. Already I have said in Chapters II and XV that some Teutons or Germans having instituted with great display a society for negotiations with India, had built near Sunkery a house or factory, as it was called, to be used as a marketing centre for themselves. This happened about the year 1779. But God having not favoured their Emperor Joseph II, who had been the founder and patron, within ten years that society entirely perished. After the extinction of the society the house was left unoccupied, as I have already mentioned in Chapter XVIII. Since the building roof was in a poor condition from the beginning and nobody repairing it, it began very soon to go to ruin on account of the showers. After a few years not even the marks of the ceiling remained. Even on the two side walls of the building cracks appeared. In the year 1801

33. Shirvad.

when I went there these walls had partly collapsed. Since nobody hindered or claimed it, each one at his pleasure was carrying away the stones, as it had been the case already with all material which could be removed without much labour.

Many suggesting to me to take away the stones for the building of the Church, by letter, I asked this from the English Prefect to whom all this region was subject. He answered me: "On my part I have no objection that you take away these stones: but because still a certain 'Brown' is now residing in Malabar it seems good to me that you ask those stones from him." This Brown, was the last Director of the Society in Sunkery. At that time he was living in the village of Mahe as a private businessman with another colleague by name 'Diner.' According to the advice of the English Prefect I communicated the matter to them through a common friend. They replied orally: "The house belonged not to us but to the extinct society. Therefore it does not matter to us: and consequently we cannot directly assent to your demands. Still as far as we are concerned, there is no objection to take away all the stones. Had you done this, I would not have to fear at any time from the German extinct society."

After receiving such an answer together with the previous answer of the English Prefect, I thought that I had enough, and more permission to take those stones. Therefore in the month of September 1801, I began to take them out in full day-light in the presence of all and nobody objecting; and for fifty days and more I took away about 4,000 stones both of those which had already collapsed, and of those which were threatening to fall, and of the top of other walls. During this time one "*Ameldar*" or "*Subedar*", namely an inferior Prefect of the Province inquired of me with what authority I was doing this. To him the English Prefect himself replied in writing that I was doing it with his permission. After that he kept quiet.

After many days a certain stranger by chance told me that a certain idolator, a Brahman of Sunkery and living in Sunkery as my neighbour was seriously complaining as if I had occupied

his properties unjustly. For he was saying that the factory was his own, since he was a creditor of the ruined society and therefore he had decided to go to court on that account. Afterwards as I came to know this idolator was really a creditor and that he had with him as a document of Brown with his signature; according to that document he had to receive about Rs. 2,250/- with interest from the shares of the Society, who first had come to inhabit the Sunkery factory. But by that document that factory was neither adjudged nor given to him either as a mortgage or as caution or as security or as pledge for his money.

Since I had sufficient authority as I had pointed out before, and since the right of that creditor was not in "*in rem*" but almost only "*ad rem*" after either the giving up of the debtor or the sentence of the judge and since that law was unknown entirely to me and indeed invincibly, as it was known to all the people; since that creditor both was present and with his own eyes saw the removing of the stones and still he did not object to it, nay even he did not say even a word to me present there or to any one of mine, and since with his silence seemed to consent I had nothing to fear in that matter. However, I stopped taking stones from there as soon as I had news of his complaints, lest I might cause even the least prejudice to his right, although doubtful.

If credit is to be given to the report of some, it is to be said that that creditor had a crooked, deceitful and wicked mind in this affair. For when I began to take those stones he rejoiced much. Nay even before I began it he himself through others, to whom he had given secret orders, suggested it to me. He was thinking that this wall will be sufficient occasion to compel me to pay that money which he had no hope of getting from the Germans. For he was even thinking that he had found in me a blockhead and a fool and together with plenty of riches.

After he saw that I was taking stones from the ruined parts and some from the walls, for many days, he hastened to Malabar, full of joy to Brown already mentioned, under the appearance to ask the payment of the debt according to the handwritten document, but in truth to have him

as his patron and as a counsellor against me in the court. "The factory of Sunkery" he said "is no more, who of the Germans will come to inhabit it? Who will therefore pay the debt?" The demand of the creditors are always sufficiently troublesome. Hence Brown lest he might be killed by him, turned on me all hatred saying that I have taken up the debts together with the stones and all the responsibilities of the extinct Society, and that therefore the payment according to that document had to be sought from me.

Hastening at once to me, he like a collector demanded of me the whole payment according to the document, together with the interest, threatening that, if I would not pay, he will take matter to the Court and start a suit against me. At that time and up to the year 1807 all judicial power in these regions were in the hands of the English Commander, before mentioned. The judge having heard the complaints and groundless reasonings, having examined and known the case sent away that quarrelsome man frustrated in his hopes. During that time in these regions civil suits were exercised and done in the most simple Indian custom, *i.e.* without those forensic solemnities, instruments, writings, act, which generally are used by the European peoples, for the Englishmen had not yet introduced all these things, being new masters of these provinces. Hence it happened that that judge passed the sentence orally without any written document and I still ignorant of the boundless malice of that Brahmin, thinking that the business was over once for all, neglected to get some authentic document about the sentence passed. This neglect gave an opportunity to my enemy to raise his head against me again after about six years.

In the year 1807 the judicial power was separated from the Collector's power and a new judge was appointed, a young Englishman, without any experience and service and too much self-confidence. He cancelled, some asking for it a certain judgment passed orally (as it was then the custom) some years before, by a secondary judge of that time. This fact created a new hope in my adversary, by which move he did revive from the ashes of that suit, and most secretly in the manner of those who

act in bad faith, he put again before the judge the same suit in the court, which this new judge had established in the village of "Anor." However, in his demands, no mention having been made of the first judgment, again he asked what already had been asked before, namely that I should be forced to pay him the whole sum of money according to the document with the interest. Why he did this most secretly and without my knowledge it is not difficult to guess, lest I might go prepared to the judge, he wanted with all his mind and desire to swallow me down, engulf me down, gulp me down, taken by surprise unaware, not foreseeing. Since there were almost innumerable cases proposed in that Court and since by order of judge those, which were first proposed should be first discussed, many months had passed after the petition was proposed in the court, before I was called. In all this long time, my enemy who was also my neighbour on purpose came rather too often to me pretending friendship and did not say even a word of having renewed the suit.

Although unexpectedly I would have had to go to the court, I would have nothing to fear. However my adversary could not gratify even this desire. For the law suit of the judge was brought to me in the beginning of the Lent, in which time I could not in any way be absent. Having proposed to the judge the inconvenience of the time, I obtained a delay: Had I need of this delay, I could propose myself for a judical way sufficiently and more. After I came to know about the case, my adversary forgot entirely the road to my house and did not come to my presence any more.

On the contrary, I in the beginning of May about to go to court several times, I invited him to come with me in the ship which I had hired so that he might incur less expenses and the case might be finished sooner, being both of us present. But he denied to come with me, partly, since as he said, it was against his religious customs, and partly because conscious of his iniquity he was afraid of my presence. When I came to the court waiting in vain for him for eight days, not wishing to waste any more of

my time, I appointed an advocate to act in my case, after which I started from there.

Although my opponent left no stone unturned, and used his frauds and false witnesses, however so great was the evidence of the case that the judge, as he himself afterwards confessed in his written judgment at once and without doubt which party was right. Notwithstanding, who will believe? He postponed the judgment up to the seventh month. The first reason (the second reason will be said below) for this delay was his own pussilanimity, for he feared that if a favourable decision would be given to me it might be said that he was moved by personal consideration rather than by justice. Therefore, he had settled not to give any judgment in the law suit. Therefore, he was delaying day after day and was trying to persuade both my advocate and my opponent to bring about a compromise.

This great delay was not adding any hope to my opponent. On the contrary as I learnt afterwards, from the first discussion of the case losing every hope of victory, he was very much troubled by the fear that he would have to pay all the expenses of law suit, which would have been a very great burden for him. Moved by this fear he approached my advocate for a compromise. But in vain, for I had expressly forbidden it: at last coming to me as a suppliant he was lamenting over his deception, as he was saying, and asking most earnestly that by consent of both the law suit might be removed from the judge and thus there might be less expense. Moved by pity, rather than by his merits towards me, I promised to do that: but for just reasons deferred the thing for the following day. But to his misfortune it happened that on the very day a new devil met him. Nearly at the same time in order that I might come to the aid of those unjustly molested Christians of this region, through a public pamphlet I informed the English Governor about the injustice and violence of some of his ministers. He having understood the case expelled a Brahmin chief of this section from all offices. He had a brother, who was holding the principal place in the court of justice, and he was holding the esteem, friendship, favour, and

goodwill of the judge himself, so much that he was leading him as if a blind man withersoever he wished in everything and through all things and was changing and bending him at his will : you would say that by that most sly deceiver, the judge was infatuated. He full of Brahmanical anger towards me, on account of the disgrace of his brother and most desirous for revenge was taking the last opportunity to ruin me. On the said date (there were holidays) he himself met my adversary. Having promised his "Omnipotent" patronage, not only took away every fear but also having prophesied certain victory he was congratulating himself on so great a chance of wreaking vengeance.

What the new patron had promised he really began to carry out with might and main: but his wickedness failed him in this and that "Omnipotence" was far away from him. This one thing alone he could obtain, *viz.* that he could defer the pronouncement of the sentence for three months. The judge resisted to the pressure of this impostor, partly because the evidence of the case was clear and partly because he was thinking that I might appeal to a higher judge to his great disgrace. I therefore, complaining publicly for so great a delay, finally on the 8th of December of this year 1808 he decided the case in my favour. An authentic copy of this sentence is preserved in our archives.

I do not know at all what expenses my opponent had incurred on his part on account of this case. But, for my expenses I was compelled to pay about Rs. 138/- out of which Rs. 112/- by the English law enriched the purse of my lawyer. The name of my adversary is Vittal Xenai, adopted son of Baba Xenai. By reason of this adoption he is the heir of that idolator to whom the Englishmen leaving this place in 1725 gave the land "*Totti*" as we have said in Chapter VI.

(*To be continued*)

CORRESPONDENCE

EVOLUTION OF TAMIL ART AND CULTURE IN PUDUKOTTAI

We publish below the note which Shri C. R. Subramanian has sent us by way of reply to the comment appearing on pages 63 and 64 of Volume L of our Journal. EDITOR.

I feel sorry for the hasty comment on my article by Shri K. D. Swaminathan. To begin with, let me first make it very clear that my article was only a piece of information to interested scholars and not a research paper.

I had the opportunity of serving in the Pudukottai area for nearly four years. During that period and while I was carrying out certain conservation works on the monuments I was able to observe the importance of many of the monuments and desired to publish an article on such early temples and their development.

My statement that the natural caverns and shelters in the Pudukottai area were dwellings of the primitive tribes is on account of my personal study of the same and hence it is my own conclusion. I may state here that there is nothing to show anywhere that they were not the dwellings of the primitive tribes.

As for the middle and later part of the same para reference may please be made to page 458 of Volume I of the Pudukottai Manual and also to pages 555 and 575 of Volume II Part II of the same Manual published by the erstwhile State.

The sentence "Though we do not find here anything like the monolithic temples of Mahābalipuram popularly called *raṭhas* we do not find in this area any real gem of temples" should be read as follows: "Though we do not find here anything like the monolithic temples of Mahābalipuram popularly called *raṭhas* we

do find in this area real gems of temples." This is only a typographical mistake.

I am sorry my friend could not understand the spirit in which the Great (Brihadēśwara) temple has been referred to in the article.

The *Mahāmaṇṭapam* in front of the Kunnandar Koil is also used as *Kalyāṇa Maṇṭapam* by the local people. Hence my statement to that effect.

The article was written with great care by making due references to the Government Oriental Publications and learned articles contributed by scholarly persons and also on my personal contact with educationists and historians like, Shri K. R. Venkataraman and others who have actually spent their service in that State and who know the monuments more intimately than many others.

Much water has flowed since I left that area, that is nearly five years ago. Perhaps new discoveries might have been made in these years. Archaeology is a vast subject and no two scholars will generally agree.

C. R. Subramanian

REVIEW

Enquiry: Published by Shri Bipin Chandra, Lecturer, Hindu College, Delhi-8. Price per copy Rs. 2/-.

When the first issue of the **Enquiry** saw the light about this time last year, few would have predicted that its sales would top the 1000 mark within a year. That it has managed to achieve this distinction is due as much to the initiative and enterprise of the publisher as to the excellence of the contributions it carries and its get-up.

The **Enquiry** hopes, in the words of its publisher, 'to provide a forum for research and discussion to all engaged in intellectual endeavours in the humanities and sciences.' That its hopes are being amply fulfilled, will be borne out by the contents of its first and current issues and the promised contents of the next.

Contributions to the first issue of the **Enquiry** range from Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya's *Brahman and Maya* to Oscar Lange's *Marxism and Bourgeois Economics*. Contributions to the current issue range from Dr. Kosambi's '*The Historical Development of the Bhagavad-Gita*' to Shri P. C. Joshi's *Community Development Programme*. Another article of topical interest appearing in the current issue is Baudhyan Chatterji's *Agricultural Labour, Enterprise and Land Reforms in India*. The next issue of the journal promises to be quite as interesting and informative as the preceding two ones. For, among the items in the promised menu are such choice delicacies as Michal Kalechi's *Socialist Economy* and Jamini Roy's *Comments on Tagore's Paintings*.

With such an impressive array of learned contributions, each succeeding issue of the **Enquiry** is bound to whet our appetite for the next. The Editor and Publisher of the Journal deserve, therefore, to be congratulated on this altogether superb venture.

G. NANJUNDIAH

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